

paragraphs 133, 135. Quotations on Cargill strategy in paragraph 134. Frank Jost testimony, CBOT Archives, AAA 6073-6. See also 6074-2 and 6076-4 for Daniel Rice research file on crop conditions in the summer of 1937 and the field reports of Frank Jost.

29. For chronology of events in this period, September 1-23, see *Cargill, Incorporated, Complainant* . . . , CEA Docket No. 6, op. cit., paragraph 158; for Cargill's percentage of open interest, see paragraph 119; the Business Conduct Committee decision of September 16, 1937, is in 158, l; their September 21 letter is in 158, p; Cargill's reply is in this section; the September 22 late-night meeting is in 158, q. The Cargill comments on the reported Duvel call on September 18 are in "The September 1937 Corn Incident," op. cit., p. 161. The Sayles account of the late-night meeting is in CA, Law Department 207. See also *Wall Street Journal* comments from its issue of September 20, 1937. Sayles comments on September 23 meetings in internal memorandum of that date; see CA, Law Department 207. For the September 20, 1937, meeting between Ed Grimes and Dr. Duvel, see "The September 1937 Corn Incident," op. cit., pp. 165-73; Richard Uhlmann comments on BCC membership in his letter to Kenneth Templeton, November 18, 1937, in Directors Meeting of November 23, 1937, CBOT Archives, AAA 3591; the BCC version of the September 22 meeting with Ellis and Sayles, CBOT Archives, AAA 6061-5; see also quotation about shorts "being babied," *Chicago Daily News*, September 18, 1937. The CBOT notice about the shorts was in a memorandum from William B. Bosworth to the CBOT membership, dated September 15, 1937, CA 40-05.

30. On Uhlmann Grain Company decision to terminate arrangements with Cargill, see McDonald Committee report of January 31, 1938, op. cit., and the Grimes memorandum on his testimony before them, "Memorandum of Meeting with the McDonald Committee of the Chicago Board of Trade, held in Chicago at 2 o'clock P.M. Thursday, January 6, 1938," CA 38-04, CBOT. Quotation from internal memorandum, CA Law Department 206. Fred Uhlmann quotation from CBOT Archives, AAA 6061-5. For question of whether Duvel ordered this market closed, see "Notes of Meeting of February 18, 1938," CBOT Archives, AAA 6061-9.

31. Quotation on enabling shorts to buy in corn pit in Cargill's brief, "Suggestions and Exceptions of Complainant to Tentative Proposed Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law of the Referee" in *Cargill, Incorporated Complainant* . . . , CEA Docket No. 6, op. cit., p. 136. Quotation on Cargill's strategy from McDonald Committee report, January 31, 1938, op. cit.; on "loading newspaper," Weston Grimes to John Jr., telex, September 29, 1937, CA 40-03; on members "indignant," Philip Sayles to John Jr., telex, September 27, 1937, CA 45-02.

32. "Immensely puzzled," John MacMillan, Jr., to Charles T. Peavey, September 29, 1937, CA 38-05, P; memorandum on proposed investigation, n.d., is at CA 38-05, L; John Jr. comments on Thomas Howell from the trial record in CEA No. 6, 3561; his comments on Chinese and British role in his handwritten manuscript, ca. December 1938, W. Duncan MacMillan MS collection.

33. Philip Sayles comments on the appointment of the McDonald Committee in his letter to E. J. Grimes, October 15, 1937, CA 38-06, Chicago office. The Wood Committee was constituted on October 14, 1937, and its final report was dated November 16, 1937, CA 38-04, CBT correspondence. A draft of the Cargill brief to the Committee, dated October 27, 1937, is in CA, Law Department 206. The McDonald Committee was constituted October 15, 1937; its final report was dated March 25, 1938. The exchange of telegrams between W. H. McDonald and John MacMillan, Jr., is in CA 38-07, CBT correspondence. Dow Jones ticker announcement in CA 38-06, Chicago office. Report on Earle English visit to Minneapolis in CBOT Archives, AAA 6076-11 and AAA 6080-4.

34. Commodity Exchange Authority, "Matter of Limits on Position and Daily Trading in Grain for Future Delivery, Hearing Docket CEA #3," Chicago, December 1, 1937. John MacMillan, Jr., quotations, Vol. 1, pp. 41, 58-59; C. D. Sturtevant quotation, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 22-23. The "proposed order," under signature of Henry A. Wallace, is dated June 13, 1938; Cargill filed exceptions to this order, "Suggestions of Cargill, Incorporated regarding 'Proposed Order in the Matter of Limits . . .,'" taking issue particularly with the proposed exemption to manufacturers and processors. John MacMillan, Jr.'s testimony was reprinted in full in the *Cargill Crop Bulletin*, December 23, 1937, pp. 12-16. Weston Grimes telegram to Sayles is dated November 15, 1937, CA 38-06, Chicago office. John Jr. telegram to Sayles, November 18, 1937, CA 38-04; comments on limits, J. W. T. Duvel to John Jr., December 3,

1936, CA 36-04; John Jr. to Duvel, *ibid.*; Chicago symposium citation in chapter 17, note 16.

35. "Avoid compounding the offense," telex, John Peterson to John Jr., November 19, 1937, CA 39-02; "cite Call Rule," telex, John Jr. to Weston Grimes, December 9, 1937, CA 38-04; Fred and Richard Uhlmann testimony to McDonald Committee re John Jr., CBOT Archives, AAA 6073-1.

36. Cargill's version of the meeting is described in "The September 1937 Corn Incident," op. cit., pp. 89-94, and in Ed Grimes, "Memorandum of Meeting with the McDonald Committee of the Chicago Board of Trade, Held in Chicago at 2 o'clock P.M. Thursday, January 6, 1938," January 11, 1938, CA 38-04, CBOT correspondence. The "McDonald Committee" report was to the CBOT, dated January 31, 1938, and transmitted to Cargill on February 1, 1938, CA, *ibid.* The J. W. T. Duvel letter to the McDonald Committee was dated January 24, 1938, CBOT Archives AAA 6062-9; a copy was also sent to Grimes, "The September 1937 Corn Incident," op. cit., p. 92; Duvel telephone call of September 18, Kenneth S. Templeton to officers and directors of the CBOT, ca. December 1938, CBOT Archives, AAA 6086-24.

37. The Committee charges, addressed to the board of directors of the CBOT on January 31, 1938, were forwarded to Cargill on February 1, 1938, CA 38-04, CBOT correspondence. On conciliation, John Peterson to Kenneth Templeton, January 31, 1938, and attached memorandum re "olive branch," CA 43-03. Cargill press release on McDonald Committee charges in Cargill MacMillan to John Jr., February 2, 1938, CA 38-04; public announcement of the institution of Cargill's CEA charge, dated February 26, 1938, is in CA 38-06, Chicago office. The text of this charge can be found in *Cargill, Incorporated Complainant* . . . , CEA Docket No. 6, op. cit., p. 1; "pussy-footing," John Jr. to Cargill MacMillan, "Feb. 28," MS collection, Cargill MacMillan; "horror," John Sr. to Cargill MacMillan, February 10, 1938, *ibid.*; "fight to the finish," *ibid.*, February 5, 1938, "despondency," John Jr. to Cargill MacMillan, February 11, 1938, *ibid.*

38. Income tax audit, Cargill MacMillan to Irving Goldsmith, February 15, 1938, CA 43-05; Cargill's financial strength, John Peterson to Business Conduct Committee, February 28, 1938, CA 43-03-21. Letter on arbitration, E. L. Rickel Grain Company to Cargill Grain Company, February 8, 1938, CA 45-03.

39. Cargill's refusal to testify before the board of directors of the CBOT in John MacMillan, Jr., to Kenneth S. Templeton, March 1, 1938, CA 38-04, CBOT; quotations by Templeton on the issue in "Address of Retiring President Kenneth S. Templeton," *Eighty-First Annual Report of the Trade and Commerce of Chicago for the Year Ended December 31, 1938*, Chicago Board of Trade, 1939, pp. xx-xxi; quotation on "Richard Whitney scandal," John MacMillan, Jr., to John Sr., March 18, 1938, CA 38-04, Personal; on Duvel "escape," Howard W. Vesey to Howard Ellis, March 10, 1938, CBOT Archives, AAA 6077-19; *Chicago Daily News* quotation from its issue of June 8, 1938; *Time* magazine article in its issue of April 4, 1938. Cargill statement on expulsion is reprinted in full in *Cargill News*, March 1938, pp. 2-3; on worries about credit, John MacMillan, Jr., to John Peterson, March 28 and April 1, 1938, CA 38-04, Personal; map of new transportation routes, dated March 30, 1938, in CA 38-07, Traffic Department.

40. The so-called call rule provisions read as follows, from Eightieth Annual Report . . . Chicago Board of Trade, 1937 (Chicago: Lincoln Printing Company, 1932), pp. 316-17:

331. GRAIN TO ARRIVE.—The Board shall maintain a desk in the Exchange Hall in charge of a reporter, to whom, during regular trading hours, bids may be submitted to buy grain to arrive. Members desiring to buy grain to arrive during such hours must submit bids to the reporter, who shall immediately post on a blackboard the highest bids submitted. All bids shall specify the kind of grain, the billing, the grade, the price, and the time of shipment. The posting of a higher bid cancels all lower bids for the same grade of the same grain for the same shipment. Unaccepted bids may be withdrawn by notice to the reporter and shall promptly be erased from the blackboard. The highest unwithdrawn bid constitutes an open offer to buy, which may be accepted by any other member who may compel the bidder to take at least one carload. The last posted and unwithdrawn bids at the close of the regular market shall constitute the closing prices of the day for the particular grades, billing, and shipments specified in such bids.

332. BIDS DURING THE SESSION.—During the session, members are prohibited from bidding the country for wheat, corn, rye, oats and soy beans to arrive at prices in excess of

the last posted prices less the following minimum charges; on purchases from non-members, 1% with minimum charges of 1 1/2¢ per bushel on wheat, 1¢ per bushel on corn, rye and soy beans, 3/4¢ per bushel on oats; on purchases from members 3/4 of one per cent, with minimum charges of 1¢ per bushel on wheat, 3/4¢ per bushel on corn, rye, and soy beans, and 1/2¢ per bushel on oats.

333. BIDS AFTER SESSION.—After the session, members are prohibited from bidding the country for grain to arrive at prices in excess of the closing price of the day less the minimum charges above specified, except as follows: a member having a bona fide bid from a buyer in Chicago in excess of any closing price may bid the country such bid price less the regular charges. A member who has made bona fide bids to not less than five members in the cash grain business in excess of any closing price may bid the country the price named in such bids less the regular charges. Members thus bidding in excess of any closing price must file with the Secretary before 8:00 A.M. of the following day, a statement showing the prices at which they bid the country and the facts justifying such bids under this Rule.

The "call rule" of the Chicago Board of Trade was validated in the Supreme Court case, *Board of Trade of City of Chicago, et al. v. United States*, March 4, 1918, 246 U.S. 231; Justice Louis D. Brandeis wrote the majority opinion; quotation on "traders . . . at a loss," *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, April 2, 1938, CA, Law Department 206; telexes on rate, July 7, 8, 1938, CA 39-03, Chicago office; "hoodoo," John Jr. to John Sr., April 1, 1938, CA 34-04.

41. Time magazine articles on Farmers National Grain Corporation in the issues of October 4, 1937, and February 7, 1938.

42. Quotation on Secretary Roper's comments, J. M. Barker to John MacMillan, Sr., June 9, 1938, CA 39-02, B.

43. John MacMillan, Jr., to Henry A. Wallace, May 17, 1938; Wallace to John Jr., June 4, 1938; CA 38-05, VW; John MacMillan, Sr., to J. W. T. Duvel, August 22, 1938, CA 38-04, CBT; Time article on "tipsters," August 15, 1938; John Jr. to John Sr., ca. November 28, 1938, CA 39-02; "Getting all the breaks," John Jr. to Mrs. John MacMillan, Jr., November 29, 1938, CA 39-02; John Jr.'s stamina, John Sr. to John Jr., November 30 and December 1, 1938, *ibid.*; "front page of the *Wall Street Journal*," John Sr. to Sumner B. Young, December 2, 1938, *ibid.*; John Jr.'s testimony, Young to John Sr., December 8, 1938, *ibid.*; "magnificent performance," Young to Leo Sheehan, December 13, 1938, *ibid.*; "ruff treatment," John Jr. to John Sr., telex, December 13, 1938, *ibid.*; "fear and trepidation" and "constant slurs," trial testimony, CEA Docket No. 6, 567, 573, 589. Testimony on "logical" hedging, CEA No. 6, op. cit., 3297-3302; on corners and squeezes, 3365-3384.

44. "Cargill are through," Sayles to Grimes, telex, December 27, 1938, *ibid.*; Dow Jones announcement, *ibid.*; earlier CEA inquiry, John Jr. to J. W. T. Duvel, October 28, 1938, CA 38-04. Pencil comment on *Chicago Daily News* article of December 28, 1938, CBOT Archives, AAA 6071-8; "behind the 8-ball," *ibid.*, AAA 6034-1.

45. Sumner B. Young to John Sr., January 7, 1939.

46. Dow Jones ticker tape on Templeton statement, dated January 16, 1939, is in CA 38-04; John Peterson on "short jabs" in his letter to John Jr., January 18, 1939, *ibid.*; John Sr. concern, his letter to John Jr., January 16, 1939, CA 45-08; John Jr. preoccupation, Cargill MacMillan to John and Edna MacMillan, February 27, 1939, CA 45-01; *Cargill Crop Bulletin* article, "Trial of the Board of Trade of the City of Chicago," February 8, 1939, CA 38-05; on testimony re *Crop Bulletin*, Hayes Miller to John Sr., March 2, 1939, *ibid.*

47. Legislative efforts, John Jr. to Weston Grimes, January 30 and to Irving Goldsmith, January 31, 1939; Weston Grimes telex to John Jr., February 2, 1939; CA 38-04. The representative was Usher Lloyd Burdick of North Dakota; the bill was H.R. 25, on investigating short selling.

48. "Precarious condition" of CBOT, John Jr. to John Sr., February 17, 1939; "Wallace . . . Presidential Bee," *ibid.*, February 20, 1939; CA 38-04.

49. "Risks involved," Cargill MacMillan to John and Edna MacMillan, March 22, 1939, CA 45-01; "apt to disturb," John Sr. to Cargill MacMillan, March 24, 1939, MS collection Cargill MacMillan.

50. Duvel testimony, John Jr. to John Sr., April 1 and 4, 1939, CA 38-04. Headline on Duvel from *Chicago Daily News*, March 30, 1939.

51. "Drama of Corn" quotations from unnamed Chicago newspaper, May 3, 1939, clippings in CA 38-05; Professor Roland Vaile testimony, John Jr. to Cargill MacMillan, April 10, 1939, CA 38-04; see also clippings file for April 26, 1939, CA 38-05; *Chicago American*, May 15, 1939; the CEA ruling on inclusion of the Vaile testimony is in *Cargill, Incorporated, Complainant v. . .*, CEA Docket No. 6, op. cit., and in "Tentative Proposed Findings of Fact, Conclusions of Law and Order," p. 7.

52. Wheat "squeeze" of May 1939, clippings file, CA 38-05; *Business Week* quotation from its issue of May 27, 1939; John Jr. memorandum on publicity, June 5, 1939, CA 40-06; turning down article, Leo Sheehan to Philip Sayles, June 7, 1939, CA 38-04; on gift of stock, John Sr. to Sumner B. Young, June 30, 1939, CA 45-08.

53. Daniel Rice complaint on Cargill's Northwestern terminal in letter to John G. McCarthy, president of the CBOT, June 20, 1939, CBOT Archives, AAA 3584-16; dismissal of case, *Minneapolis Star*, June 1, 1939; *Chicago Daily News*, June 6, 1939; *Chicago Tribune*, August 10, 1939; Hayes Miller to John Sr., August 9, 1939, CA 40-06. Statement on condition of Cargill corn in the Chicago elevator, H. S. Yohe to Fred H. Clutton, July 6, 1939, CA 40-06; on "capitalizing," John Jr. to Sumner B. Young, June 30, 1939, CA 40-03.

54. The record of testimony in CEA Docket No. 11 can be found in CBOT Archives, AAA 5960, 5970-5973; quotation on stipulation from "Re Requested Stipulation that Cargill's December Corn Transactions Occurred Mainly in the Pit," February 12, 1940, Law Department 158; quotation on wash sales, Julius Hendel to L. R. Barker, August 14, 1939, CA 40-06; on "no bars," Fred Clutton to Earle English, January 11, 1940, *ibid.*, AAA 5407. The final order on *Secretary of Agriculture, Complainant vs. Cargill, Inc., Cargill Grain Company of Illinois, John H. MacMillan, Jr., E. J. Grimes, Julius Hendel and Philip C. Sayles, Respondents*, CEA Docket No. 11, i, dated March 7, 1940; see James E. Dorsey to John Sr., March 7, 1940, CA 40-06; the *Chicago Tribune* article mentioning John Jr. is of the same date; for Cargill decision to forgo trial, see Cargill MacMillan to John Jr., cablegrams, February 12, 15, 16 and 20 and March 1, 1940, CA 40-06. The Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce decision to bar John Jr. is dated March 12, 1940; "singled out . . . honor of family . . . to bitter end," John Sr. to Cargill MacMillan, February 2, 5 and 9, 1940, MS collection, Cargill MacMillan; "goat . . . peace of mind," John Jr. to Cargill MacMillan, January 31 and February 12, 1940, *ibid.*

55. Return to CBOT, Kenneth S. Templeton to John Jr., November 4, 1940, CA 40-06; "get out of jail," telex, John Jr. to Weston Grimes, December 10, 1941, and letter of March 31, 1941, CA 43-05; the CEA order reinstating John Jr. is dated June 25, 1942; the Weston Grimes comments are in his letter to Cargill MacMillan, June 24, 1942, W. Duncan MacMillan manuscript collection; refusal to accept CEA order, John Jr. to Secretary of Agriculture, July 9, 1942, CA 43-04.

56. Quotations on John MacMillan, Jr., and Daniel Rice from "The Grain Traders," *Fortune*, August 1949. Testimony by Fred and Richard Uhlmann in McDonald Committee hearings in CBOT Archives, AAA 6073-1; on Daniel Rice, Jonathan R. Laing, "Still Full of Beans," *Barron's*, April 30, 1990.

57. Alonzo Taylor, "Speculation, Short Selling, and the Price of Wheat," *Wheat Studies* 7 (1930-31): 231; for stereotypes of the "bull" and the "bear," see Cedric B. Cowing, "Market Speculation in the Muckraker Era: The Popular Reaction," *Business History Review* 31 (1957): 403; *Business Week* quotation from its issue of April 16, 1949; Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce open interest figures from Thomas Torushek memorandum, August 21, 1939, Law Dept. 158; daily closing prices on corn futures in the Minneapolis Exchange in *Fifty-sixth Annual Report of the Chamber of Commerce, Minneapolis, Minn.*, December 1938; on bigness, Ed Grimes to John Jr., May 24, 1939, CA 40-06; on bigness, Ed Grimes to John Jr., May 24, 1939, CA 40-06.

58. "Combined Expense, Board of Trade and CEA Cases, to June 30, 1940, CA 45-03; poem excerpt from manuscript collection, John MacMillan, Jr., December 1, 1945.

13. Transportation in the 1930s (pp. 536-71)

1. Dedication of Albany deep-water port, see "The Port of Albany, Dedicated June 6 and 7, 1932," Commercial Bank of Albany, CA 35-07; quotations from Franklin D. Roosevelt speech, *New York Times*, June 8 and 9, 1932.

2. *Montreal Gazette*, June 13, 1932, CA 35-07.
3. Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army, War Department, *Transportation on the Great Lakes*, rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1937), pp. 92-93, 183; Charles Hadfield, *World Canals: Inland Navigation Past and Present* (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1986), pp. 357-58.
4. "Trihey Denies Albany Threat," undated newspaper fragment, ca. June 14, 1932, CA 35-07.
5. Ed Grimes speech at Twenty-third Annual Convention, New York State Waterways Association, Buffalo, N.Y., September 19, 1932, CA 33-01; John Sr. to C. T. Jaffray, August 15, 1932, CA 33-03; for West Coast shipping, see D. W. Meinig, *The Great Columbia Plain: A Historical Geography, 1805-1910* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968); *ibid.*, *On the Margins of the Good Earth: The South Australian Wheat Frontier, 1869-1884* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1970); Albro Martin, *James J. Hill and the Opening of the Northwest* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1991).
6. *Report of the Federal Trade Commission on the Grain Trade*, Vol. 4, op. cit., September 26, 1923, pp. 81-82.
7. For an excellent summary of the ten-month rule, see Ed Grimes to Thomas W. Page (who was chairman of the Committee for Reciprocity, U.S. Tariff Commission), April 10, 1935, CA 36-04.
8. "Projected Waterways in North America as Related to Export of Wheat," *Wheat Studies* 8 (August 1932): 452.
9. The Commonwealth preference is discussed in D. A. MacGibbon, *The Canadian Grain Trade, 1931-1951* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), pp. 17-32; "British Preference for Empire Wheat," *Wheat Studies* 10 (October 1933): 1-33. See also V. D. Wickizer, "Shipping and Freight Rates in the Overseas Grain Trade," *ibid.*, 15 (October 1938): 49-120; "Canadian Wheat Stabilization Operations, 1929-1935," *ibid.*, 12 (March 1936): 249-72.
10. "Ex-Lake Grain to North Atlantic Ports," 235 I.C.C. 415, *Decisions Docket* 4618 (November 25, 1939), p. 418.
11. On 1/4-cent rate, Grimes to D. Sullivan & Co., May 26, 1932, CA 35-08; 235 I.C.C. 415, op. cit. p. 420; J. L. Bolus to Ed Grimes (with attachment), December 21, 1932, CA 33-08; John Jr. to B. J. Bolan, February 21, 1933, CA 35-06.
12. "Hudson River . . . boom," John Jr. to R. G. Narelle, April 30, 1932 CA 32-02; "outrageous . . . proposal," John Jr. to Peter G. Ten Eyck, December 9, 1931, CA 32-03; comparison of trucks, E. J. Grimes to J. P. Dervin, April 28, 1933, CA 33-01; "discouraged about . . . rates," Grimes to F. B. McGrath, February 11, 1933, CA 33-01.
13. John Jr. to John Sr., March 10, 1933, CA 34-04.
14. *Albany Evening News*, February 3, 1933; M. V. Beckstedt to Grimes, February 7, 1933; Grimes to Beckstedt, February 11, 1933; CA 33-07; Grimes to Dervin, June 22, 1933, CA 33-07.
15. Grimes to Beckstedt, June 1, 1933, *ibid.*
16. "Ex-Lake Grain from Ogdensburg to New England," 208 I.C.C. 385, *Docket* 4017 (March 28, 1935); *City of Oswego, N.Y. v. Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Co., et al.*, 146 I.C.C. 293, *Docket* 17837 (July 3, 1928).
17. 209 I.C.C. 500, *Docket* 4017 (June 25, 1935).
18. John MacMillan, Sr., to J. L. Record, October 21, 1920, CA 24-02; John Jr. to Peter G. Ten Eyck, May 23, 1932, CA 35-07; John Jr. to Sen. Hiram Bingham, August 3, 1932, CA 32-03; John Sr. to J. Adam Bede, November 25, 1930, CA 33-02; John Sr. to Sen. William E. Borah, November 10, 1932, CA 35-07; on saving 1/4 cent, Corps of Engineers, *Transportation on the Great Lakes*, op. cit., p. 115. See also *Cargill News*, November 1932; "conscientiously opposed," John Jr. to Marcus Marshall, March 24, 1936, CA 36-05.
19. Ed Grimes to Harold O. Hunt, May 28, 1932, CA 32-06.
20. Trucking effects on country elevators, *Minneapolis Journal*, November 7, 1932; John Jr. to John E. Bierwirth, October 17, 1935, CA 36-03.
21. J. J. Shonhart to Grimes, January 31, 1935, CA 35-09; Grimes to Mark Marshall, May 27, 1936, CA 36-05.
22. "Unable to build," John Jr. to Peter G. Ten Eyck, March 21 and 24, 1932, CA 32-03; "competitor elevator," John Jr. to John Sr., April 4, 1932, *ibid.*; "block expansion," John Jr. to D. D. LaDu, April 10, 1935, CA 36-04.
23. "Very inexpensive house," John Jr. to Ed Grimes, April 15, 1935, CA 36-04; "18 plants," John Jr. to John Sr., *ibid.*; "larger than a country elevator," John Jr. to John E. Bierwirth, October 17, 1935, CA 36-03.
24. Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army, *Transportation on the Great Lakes*, op. cit., p. 183.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 181-82.
26. John Jr. to Bierwirth, October 17, 1935, op. cit.
27. Boston terminal project, John Sr. to Harvey C. Miller, August 7, 1934, and Frank Neilson correspondence with Miller and Arthur B. Hayward, CA 35-13; see also Commonwealth of Massachusetts, "Special Report of the Department of Public Works and the Boston Port Authority Relative to the Adequacy of Terminal Facilities and to the Construction of a Modern Grain Elevator," December 3, 1930, House of Representatives Document 171 (1931). The *Boston Evening Transcript*, October 4, 1934, comments on the project. Newark proposal, Weston Grimes to John Jr., September 24, 1935, CA 36-04; Ed Grimes to John Jr., September 24, 1935, CA 36-05; various undated memoranda regarding negotiations with Horace K. Corbin, conducted by Grimes and Frank Neilson, CA 35-13 and 37-01; John Jr. to John Sr., February 24, 1936, CA 36-04. Providence proposal, John Jr. to Mayor S. Frank Nolan, November 15, 1935; and reply by telegram, December 4, 1935, CA 36-03. Philadelphia proposal, correspondence between Frank Neilson and Messrs. C. C. Boden, Weston Grimes and Fred Drum, CA 35-13.
28. Negotiations on the Great Eastern (and also the Dakota) Elevator, Ed Grimes to John Jr., October 10, 1936, CA 37-01; John Jr. to Cargill MacMillan, November 30, 1936, CA 36-04; George R. Basler to Frank Neilson, December 14, 1936, CA 35-12; A. F. Benny to Cargill Grain Company, November 27, 1936, CA 37-02. *Cargill News*, April 1933 for Saskatchewan Pool lease; *ibid.*, August and November 1937, for Great Eastern.
29. Early negotiations on St. Louis, W. T. Brooking to John Jr., telegram, March 15, 1935, CA 36-04; John Jr. to Bernard F. Dickmann, May 29, 1935, CA 36-03; John Jr. to Bert H. Lang, June 3, 1935, *ibid.*; John Jr. to Cargill MacMillan, June 10, 1935, CA 36-04; Lang to John Sr., June 21, 1935, CA 39-02; William M. Spann to John Jr., October 2, 1935, *ibid.*; John Jr. to P. G. Palmer, October 4, 1935, *ibid.* Memphis terminal, see Frank Neilson-Memphis Harbor Commission correspondence, July 11, 1935-May 12, 1937, CA 35-11. Backhaul problem, Grimes to J. E. Zednicheck, August 21, 1936, CA 37-02.
30. Paul E. Sweeney, "Locational Economics and the Grain Trade and Flour Milling Industry of Buffalo," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Buffalo, 1942, p. 371.
31. "Cheap way," John Jr. to E. T. Pettersen, April 17, 1935, CA 36-03; Pettersen to John Jr., April 22, July 24 and October 17, 1935, *ibid.*; on Japanese, John Peterson to Pettersen, August 14, 1936, CA 43-03.
32. John Sr. to Edna MacMillan, May 18 and 21, June 5, 1907, MS collection, W. Duncan MacMillan.
33. Availability of lake steamers, John Jr. to John Sr., March 25, 1935, CA 36-04; John Sr. to O. L. Carlton, June 26, 1935, CA 39-02; renovation costs discussed in John Jr. to John Sr., April 30, 1935, CA 36-04. On purchase of SS *Mayan*, John Jr. to Cargill MacMillan, September 25, 1935, CA 40-03; difficulties with harbor drafts, Weston Grimes to John Jr., November 4, 1935, CA 36-04. See also *Cargill News*, December 1935, January and March 1936; "crucified," Cargill MacMillan to John Jr., February 13, 1937, CA 45-02.
34. "Travel on the Erie Canal," *Cargill News*, June 1937; see also "Fifteen Miles on the Erie Canal," *ibid.*, July 1937.
35. "Cargill Grain Barges," *Cargill News*, December 1939; "Carneida" type Erie Canal Equipment," internal memorandum (John Jr.), November 28, 1940, CA 43-05; "sardine fleet," John Jr. to Ed Grimes, May 26, 1939, CA 38-04.
36. Towboat decision, John Sr. to John Jr., January 16, 1939, CA 45-08; cost figures on the tug/barge units from "closing statements," December 31, 1940, pp. 61-62.
37. Financing towboat/barge units, John Jr. to John Peterson, December 14, 1939, CA 40-06.
38. Delivery of tugs and barges, John Jr. to John Sr., March 27, 1940, CA 40-06; Frank Neilson reservations concerning Great Lakes trip, his wire to John Jr., March 27, 1980, *ibid.*; wires on Carneida trip through the river system, *ibid.*; John Jr. weather prediction, Philip Sayles to Cargill MacMillan, July 31, 1940, CA 45-02; sinking reported in *Cargill News*, August

1940; *Chicago Tribune*, August 24, 1940; *Minneapolis Star-Journal and Tribune*, August 23, 1940; telegrams on diver at wreck, *ibid.*; telegram from Neilson to John Jr. on condition of tug when raised, May 12, 1941, CA 43-05; see also *Cargill News*, May 1941.

39. Rate case, "Grain Proportionals, Ex-Barge to Official Territory," 246 ICC 353 (July 31, 1941); reconsideration, 248 ICC 307 (December 1, 1941); the Eastman quotation, p. 321. See also Flagler F. Flinchbaugh to Ed Grimes, November 4, 1940; *Chicago Tribune*, January 1, 1946; *Chicago Journal of Commerce*, August 16, 1940; "Grain and Grain Products Within the Western District and For Export," Docket 17000, 243 I.C.C. 83 (December 7, 1940).

14. The Late 1930s (pp. 573-613)

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26. "Boys . . . disturbed," John Jr. to Kelm, April 22, 1959, CA Lake 13; "far flung investments," John Jr. to Kelm, May 6, 1959, CA Lake 18; "multi-millionaire," *Daily Express* (London), May 25, 1959; "urgent agenda," John Jr. "Report on the North Sea Survey," June 1, 1959, CA Lake 14; "Marine Program, 1959-1964," John Jr. report, August 3, 1959, CA Lake 14; "appalling," Corporate Minutes, September 22, 1959; lack of training program at Tradax, John Jr. to Cargill MacMillan, April 5, 1959, MS collection Pauline MacMillan, CA.

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28. Cuban sugar prospects, John Jr. to Cargill MacMillan, March 24, 1956, CA Lake 19; research project, interview with Richard Baldwin, February 3, 1987, CA; on American Bureau of Shipping, Watson to John Jr., April 15, 1958, CA Lake 13; specifications for oceangoing barge, September 1, 1959, CA Lake 14; "counter bid," John Jr. to W. Duncan MacMillan, November 17, 1959, CA, *ibid.*; "not . . . guarantee," John C. McGrory to Hubert Sontheim, wire, November 15, 1959; *ibid.*; "re your Havana Company," Cargill MacMillan to John Jr., January 15, 1960, Whitney MacMillan MS 6; "we are quite embarrassed," John Jr. to W. Duncan MacMillan, September 2, 1960, W. Duncan MacMillan MS.

29. Special Investigating Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, *Investigation of Grain Storage Operations of the Commodity Credit Corporation*, 82nd Cong., 2nd sess., January 12-May 26, 1960; "not a very happy picture," John Jr. to John Peterson, February 5, 1960, CA Whitney MacMillan MS 6; "not nearly depressed," John Jr. to W. Duncan MacMillan, August 1, 1960, W. Duncan MacMillan MS; "found that downtown," *Minneapolis Star Journal*, January 4, 1960; "Hughie . . . disgusted," Cargill MacMillan to John Jr., February 12, 1960, CA Whitney MacMillan MS 6.

30. "Best grain trading," Erwin Kelm memorandum, April 16, 1959, CA Whitney MacMillan MS 3; Tradax nongrain commodities, "Report of Meetings, April 4-8, 1960 by Tradax Internacional S.A. Commodity Department," CA Lake 15; "perform . . . cheapest," Erwin Kelm memorandum, November 16, 1960, *ibid.*; "you need volume," John Peterson to John Jr., March 30, 1960, *ibid.*

31. Baie Comeau dedication by John Jr., July 27, 1960, CA John MacMillan, Jr. MS; "Elevator Threat," July 28, 1960, unidentified newspaper clipping, CA Lake 15; "capacity to 33 million," John Jr. to W. Duncan MacMillan, August 25, 1960, W. Duncan MacMillan MS; "to a climax," *ibid.*, September 16, 1960; "hoodoo'ed," *ibid.*, March 18, 1960.

32. Comparison with Continental Grain Company, John Jr. to John Peterson, May 13, 1960, CA Lake 16.

33. Cargill MacMillan stroke, John Jr. to William W. Cargill, August 9, 1960, CA Lake

16; "drive to cut costs," John Jr. to W. Duncan MacMillan, September 23, 1960, W. Duncan MacMillan MS; Howard McMillan death, John Jr. to Cargill, November 23, 1960, CA Lake 16; Leo Sheehan to Cargill, December 2, 1960, *ibid.*

15. *Cargill's Culture* (pp. 847-74)

1. "Overwhelming desire for security," typescript of speech by John MacMillan, Jr., Stillwater conference, November 13, 1953, CA 63-05; decoration of office, Cargill MacMillan to Edna MacMillan, June 20, 1928, CA John Work 1.

2. "Think aloud," Julius Hendel and Austen Cargill, "The Human Side of Business," May 16, 1946, *Cargill Business*, op. cit., abuses of wire system, memorandum "To all employees using our wire system," John H. MacMillan, Sr., August 8, 1932, CA 33-02, JHM Personal.

3. E. H. Rawls, Morris Barker to John Sr., January 2, 1940, CA 45-08, John Sr. to Barker, January 3, 1940, *ibid.*

4. "Cognitive complexity," Daniel Goleman, "Successful Executives Rely on Own Kind of Intelligence," *New York Times*, July 31, 1984; "strong opinions," *Cargill News*, October-November, 1965; John Jr. health, Cargill MacMillan to Clark R. Fletcher, April 14, 1942, CA 45-02, Cargill MacMillan to Weston Grimes, January 21, 1942, *ibid.*, nervous nausea, Cargill MacMillan to John and Edna MacMillan, March 31, 1942, CA 43-04; "don't think he knew how," John Work interview of Joe Bailey, ca. 1964; "loaded for bear," *ibid.*, Sumner B. Young.

5. Query on "big bin" at St. Louis terminal, H. S. Yohe to Ed Grimes, December 28, 1940; Grimes to Yohe, January 2, 1941, CA 41-06.

6. Inflatable roofs for "sport events," John Jr. to Herbert H. Stephens, Jr., July 5, 1946, CA 47-10.

7. Materials on John MacMillan, Jr., inventions are voluminous; see, particularly, his personal MS file in custody of W. Duncan MacMillan and CA 36-04 and 43-04, *passim*.

8. "First mover" advantages, Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *Scale and Scope: The Dynamics of Industrial Enterprise* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), chap. 1, "fusible link" plan, Cargill MacMillan to James E. Dorsey, September 21, 1938, CA 45-02, IRS views on tax avoidance, Leland W. — [signature not clear] to Cargill MacMillan, May 4, 1937, CA 45-02.

9. "Too radical ideas," Cargill MacMillan to John Jr., June 20, 1941, CA 40-03.

10. Hendel salary request, draft letter, Cargill MacMillan to Julius Hendel, June 21, 1940, Whitney MacMillan MS collection, "good fellow," John Jr. to Cargill MacMillan, February 10, 1941; CA 43-04.

11. Austen Cargill as general manager, Cargill MacMillan to John Jr., March 24, 1944, CA 47-01.

12. Sperry steering mechanism, John Jr. to Frank Neilson, July 15, 1941, CA 43-05.

13. The first Kepner Tregoe "Apex" meeting was held at Stillwater, Minnesota, April 3-7, 1961. The first of the extensive and long-standing "family meetings" of the next generation was April 11, 1961; family objectives rating scale in the meeting of May 18, 1961 (see also meeting of July 17, 1963). The process was repeated at a number of successive meetings, see September 28, 1964, March 11, 1969, November 11, 1971. The concept has continued in modified form to the present. See also meetings of family with Erwin Kelm (April 21, 1961) and his memorandum of that date and meeting with H. T. Morrison of April 27, 1961, with his letter to Kelm of April 25, 1961 (with two separate attached memoranda). Early thinking of family group in an internal memorandum, "A Timely Statement from Ownership to Management," dated May 18, 1961, and discussed orally with senior management. See also "Family Statement to Morrison and Kelm," n.d. (ca. May 1961). Family discussions concerning the sale of the French barges to Cargo Carriers, Incorporated, and impact on the three sets of family members extended over a number of meetings in the period 1961-1965; see, particularly, A. J. James memorandum of January 8, 1962, James to Whitney MacMillan, June 21, 1963, the latter's memoranda of July 9 and October 14, 1963, and "Varden West Report, G-2 and G-3 Barges," February 24, 1964. The barges were the subject of a number of family meetings; see, for example, July 17, 1963.

14. "Cargill stamped," Loren W. Johnson to Ed Grimes, August 2, 1947, CA 47-04; "might be . . . annoyed," Cargill MacMillan to John Jr., February 13, 1947, *ibid.*, 45-02.

15. Alex H. Ardrey, Jr., "Report on Cargill, Incorporated to Mr. Charles Cain, Jr., Executive Vice President," October 18, 1963, John Peterson MS collection, CA; Robert J. Harrigan, "Chase Manhattan Report on Cargill: Highlights," November 5, 1963, *ibid.* Cargill MacMillan, Sr., memorandum on "net worth of a hundred million dollars," dated March 11, 1958, Whitney MacMillan MS collection, CA; the Company's recent "Cargill's Mission: Where We Are Going" (1990), phrases the performance goal "to double the size of Cargill's business every five to seven years."

16. John Jr., "Summary of Cargill Management Conference Series," March 27, 1953, CA Lake 14.

17. There are a number of books on the grain trade in the period 1960-1990; none can be considered comprehensive. See, for example, Nick Butler, *The International Grain Trade: Problems and Prospects* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986); William G. Ferris, *The Grain Traders: The Story of the Chicago Board of Trade* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1988); Harry Fornari, *Bread upon the Waters: A History of United States Grain Exports* (Nashville, Tenn.: Aurora Publishers, 1973); John Freivalds, *Grain Trade: The Key to World Power and Human Survival* (New York: Stein and Day, 1976); Richard Gilmort, *A Poor Harvest: The Clash of Policies and Interests in the Grain Trade* (New York: Longman, 1982); Francis Moore Lappe, *Food First: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977); Jerry W. Markham, *The History of Commodity Futures Trading and Its Regulation* (New York: Praeger, 1987); Dan Morgan, *Merchants of Grain* (New York: Viking Press, 1979); Alex F. McCalla and Timothy E. Josling, *Agricultural Policies and World Markets* (New York: Macmillan, 1985); James Trager, *Amber Waves of Grain* (New York: Arthur Fields Books), 1973.

Similarly, the writings on Cargill in the period 1960-1990 are sketchy. See Sally Appgar, "Cargill's New President Calculates Risk," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, February 18, 1991, Marcia Beres, "End of an Era," *Forbes*, April 29, 1991 (and May 13, 1991); Eric Black, "Cargill's Whitney MacMillan Gaining Fame after Fortune," *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, October 11, 1987; Steve Brandt, "Cargill's Pretax Profits Rise Sharply," *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, February 27, 1987; Terry Brown, "The Cargill Combination—The World's Largest Grain Trader Plays for Huge Stakes, but Rarely Gambles," *Corporate Report*, May 1983, Harlan S. Byrne, "Cargill Inc., A Giant in Troubled Industry Keeps Reaping Riches," *Wall Street Journal*, November 7, 1975; "Cargill: Preparing the Next Boom in Worldwide Grain Trading," *Business Week*, April 16, 1979; Christine Donahue, "Revenge of the Frostbelt," *Forbes*, November 5, 1984; Lee Egerstrom, "MacMillan Sees Cargill Economic Development Role," *Saint Paul Pioneer Press Dispatch*, May 9, 1988; "The Free World of Private Companies," *Dun's Review*, September 1978; Richard Gibson, "Cargill Discloses Fiscal '85 Earnings Were Among the Lowest in Recent Years," *Wall Street Journal*, November 20, 1985; *ibid.*, "Cargill Thrives Despite Farming's Ills, Plans Expansion, Filing in U.K. Shows," *Wall Street Journal*, February 27, 1987; Stanley Ginsberg, "The Singles Hitter," *Forbes*, February 16, 1981; Andrew Gowers, "How the Merchants of Grain Are Ruling Out the Storm," *Financial Times*, November 28, 1986; Steven Greenhouse, "Talking Business with W. B. Saunders of Cargill," *New York Times*, September 25, 1984; *ibid.*, "For a Grain Giant, No Farm Crisis," *New York Times*, March 30, 1986; *ibid.*, "Slowly But Surely, Cargill Expands," *International Herald Tribune*, April 7, 1986; William A. Haffert, Jr., "Cargill: The Reluctant Integrator," *Feed Management*, October 1969; Hubert Kay, "The Two-Billion-Dollar Company That Lives by the Cent," *Fortune*, December 1965; Seth King, "It's Said, 'The Sun Never Sets on Cargill,'" *New York Times*, September 25, 1972; Dale Kurschner, "Pending Exits by Top Brass Send Cargill into a Quandary," *City Business*, October 15-21, 1990; Bonnie Leslie, "Cargill: All in the Family," *Minneapolis*, September 1976; Tina Russo McCarthy, "The Very Private Sector," *Forbes*, December 10, 1990; Lisa Miller Mesdag, "The 50 Largest Private Industrial Companies," *Fortune*, May 31, 1982; Mike Meyers, "Profits Slim, but Cargill Plows Patiently Through Crisis," *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, May 18, 1986; Lawrence Minard, "In Privacy They Thrive," *Forbes*, November 1, 1976; Barbara Minor, "The Corporate Report Private 100," *Corporate Report*, December 1988; Lisa Mirabile (ed.), "Cargill, Inc.," *International Directory of Company Histories II* (Chicago: St. James Press, 1990); Dan Morgan, *Merchants of Grain*, op. cit.; Ralph Nader and William Taylor, *The Big Boys: Power and Position in American Business* (New

York: Pantheon Books, 1986); Leslie Pittel, "Behind the Paper Curtain: The Largest Private Companies in the U.S.," *Forbes*, November 18, 1985; "Private Lives," *Forbes*, June 23, 1980, Dan Rottenberg, "All in the Family, Inc.—The Top Privately Held Companies in America," *Town & Country*, August 1984; Walter B. Saunders, "Testimony before the Multinational Corporations Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations," Washington, D.C., June 24, 1976; Sue Schellenbarger, "Bigness Counts in Agribusiness, and Cargill Inc. Is Fast Becoming a Commodities Conglomerate," *Wall Street Journal*, May 7, 1982; Barry Stavro, "Quit? Hell, No," *Forbes*, August 26, 1985; Bob Tamarkin, "What and Who Makes Cargill So Powerful," *Forbes*, September 18, 1978; Jack Willoughby, "More Fun Than Flogging Frosting," *Forbes*, November 17, 1986.

18. "All the Big League" from Richard Gilmore, *A Poor Harvest: The Clash of Politics and Interests in the Grain Trade*, op cit, p 124

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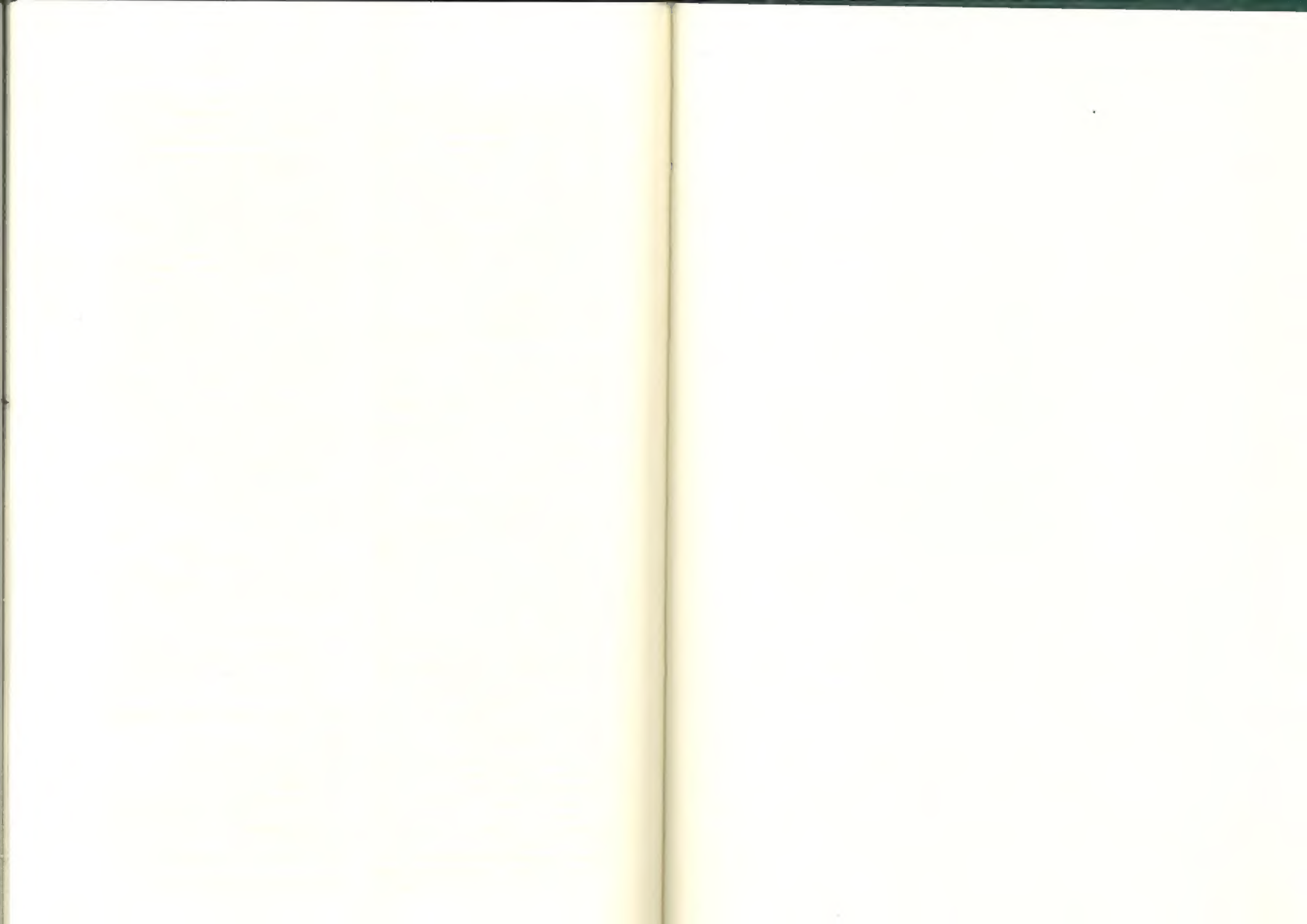
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